2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

KIN GROUPINGS

Moiety

616 The Papago are divided into patrilineal moieties, whose totems are Coyote and Buzzard. In consonance with California belief, Coyote is thought to have a white heart, while Buzzard's is red.[1] As subsidiary totems, the two moieties have white and red ants, actually a form of wingless wasp. The bear is sometimes mentioned as having a white heart and befriending the Coyote people, while mountain lion befriends the Buzzards.

582 616 But the moieties are actually remote from Papago life and many people do not know to which they belong. No moiety exogamy is now practised and only three informants had heard a tradition of such a thing. Most of them laughed at the idea; "We're all just the same. Those names don't matter." The marriage rule, in fact, is that of a bilateral system, which forbids marrying relatives on either side of the house. The kinship system is in accordance with [601] such a rule since it gives equal weight to the paternal and maternal lines and calls cross and parallel cousins by the same terms. It is a terminology which takes no cognizance of moiety.

616 Moiety functions only in ceremony.[2] It was with some difficulty that the traces of this were unearthed but, from the impressions of the oldest informants, it would seem that there were many more at one time than now. At the wiikita, the harvest festival held in the northern part of the region every four years, two girls and two boys scattered sacred cornmeal. They impersonated four children originally sacrificed to prevent a flood and there must be a boy and a girl from each moiety as there had been in that legendary case. At the final purification of an Enemy Slayer, old Slayers sang and

---

[1] The Pima tradition makes the red people the descendants of the former inhabitants of the land (Russell, 179), while Papago narrators say that these inhabitants were driven south.

[2] Herzog, G, AA vol. 38, no. 3, pt. 1, p. 520, reports Pima moities as once taking sides in games. With the Papago, the game unit is now the village or the group of related villages, all of whom descend, theoretically, from the same patrilineal ancestor. If we conclude that women were married into these related villages, which thus came to be thought of as groups of cross cousins, we should have to disregard the Papago rule which forbids all marriage between relatives. With the Papago, the village has long been the functioning unit and even the selection of kin which constitutes it is coming to have less and less importance.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

601 In practice, however, the Papago is not very assiduous in reckoning relationship. Those kin who live in the same village will be kept track of and called by the proper term but the distant ones seem to be lost to sight after the third remove, often the second. Marriage is forbidden between relatives, supposedly those within the five removes but when I inquired for examples of projected marriages stopped because of kinship, I found that the offenders were second [582] cousins or uncle and niece. Inquiring about more distant kin, I was told: "No, we could not marry them. *If we knew we were related.*"

But at least as far as the speaker's second cousin and sometimes his third, the relationship was kept track of. These cousins were called siblings, younger or older according to their descent but, when necessary, they could be further distinguished. For a blood sibling, the term was prefaced by si (very much) for a first cousin, by miah (near) and for second or third cousin by mĭhk (far). The same qualifiers could be used for all the other terms, or the relationship could be otherwise defined as "my sibling, the son of my very own uncle" etc.

This terminology is entirely lacking in such emphasis as would reflect clan and moiety. There are the same number of terms for relatives on each side of the house and they have the same general significance. All cousins, cross and parallel, are known as siblings. The fact that the affinals have no status until the birth of a child is further evidence to this effect. There can be no classing of certain kin as possible spouses, since no kin are possible spouses. Therefore neither line is weighted with an unusual number of terms, as may happen in unilateral systems.

The other points emphasized appear in some generations and are lost sight of in others. For the great great grandparents and the great grandparents we have only an undifferentiated term. With the grandparents, there is noted the sex of the relative and the difference between the father's and mother's line. With the uncle class, these two distinctions are still present and, in addition, the factor of seniority, not of the relative himself but of his ancestor in the direct line. With Ego's class, all distinctions disappear but seniority and cousins, male, female, cross and parallel are siblings, either junior or senior. In the nephew class, seniority remains and there is added the distinction between father's and mother's line but the sex of the relative is still absent. The grandchild terms are reciprocals of the grandparent terms, which mark the difference between father's and mother's lines and the sex of the grandparent but not of the grandchild. The great grandchild and the great great grandchild terms, again, are single and undifferentiated. Affinals

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

more than for the other male relatives and he, at need, would hunt or till the land for her. But the relationship was one of help without intimacy. 593

The close tie with siblings of one's own sex and respectful help to the opposite sex, continued into adult life. The brothers, during their father's lifetime, worked together under him, often living in the same house and bringing their wives home to share it. On the father's death, they built themselves separate houses but often they continued to share the land and its proceeds, their wives cooking together in a common kitchen. (I. 2. A; I. V. A and C). 592 593

Even if the brothers divided their land, they acted in many way as an economic unit. Ceremonial payments falling upon one member were made by the whole group or by that member who could best afford it. Vengeance for murder — a rare occurence — fell on any member of the group who was available. Dependant relatives were billetted in any of the houses as convenient and the young people of the group worked for any member as ordered. The junior levirate was strongly in force and an older brother, dying, would be replaced in his household by one of the younger ones. 593 [628 682] [587]

The companionship of sisters somethimes lasted equally long. After sleeping on the same mat through childhood two of them, or even three or four, might be married to the same man and continue to share their tasks till death. Even though they were not co-wives during life, the younger might marry her sister's widower and care for her sister's children. [587]

But when the sororate was not convenient, the connection of sisters with all their siblings temporarily lapsed. A woman was always expected to marry into another village so as to avoid her blood kin, and in her husband's household she became part of a new female group, composed of sisters-in-law married to the sons of the family. Often she was too far off for her siblings even to send her gifts, for only one gift exchange between such a brother and sister is mentioned (I. 3. B). If her brothers went through ceremonial purification, she might not know of it and would be absolved from bathing and fasting. She would go through these rites with her new family; her husband and his resident brothers. [582]

But this separation, dependent on geographic limitations, was often only temporary. If the sister's marriage was broken up by death or divorce, she immediately returned home. (I. 3. B). If she were too old to remarry, her brothers would provide for her as suited their arrangements: either in a house with one of them, in a separate house, with a field of her own or with produce from the common field. If she was still young, it was their duty to find her 593 587 584

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

MARRIAGE AND SEX BEHAVIOR

Polygynous marriage was approved but not practised by every one. Old men, particularly the shaman and the Keeper of the Meeting, often had four wives but most had two. Very young men had only one.

The sororate was in full force. If a man had married one daughter in a family, it was expected as a matter of course, that he would take all the others as they matured, even while the first wife was living. The junior levirate is a vague tradition. It was "a good thing" if a man's younger brother married his widow but it was not required. Some informants had not even heard of the tradition.

Marriage was arranged by the bride's parents. They saw that their daughter's breasts were large and they said, "They should be used for something." This might be immediately after puberty. It was felt that marriage should synchronize with the awakening of sex interest and some informants even quote twelve as a marriageable age for a girl. (1) The husband, if this were his first marriage, might be sixteen or seventeen. He and his young bride were by no means considered adults but lived with the groom's parents in a state of tutelage until they had several children.

The choosing of a mate for the first daughter in the family was subject to certain rules. There were no clan or moiety restrictions, but the youth should not be a relative, that is, a lineal descendant of any one of the bride's great grandparents. Also he should be from another village. This latter was a social rule but not enforced by supernatural punishments as was exogamy among relatives. If the girl's father had been wounded by an Apache, she should marry the son of a man so wounded, since it produced a form of family taint that must not be spread.

Having decided on a mate, the girl's parents consulted the adult relatives of the father's lineage and of the mother's. All gave their opinion as to whether the youth was industrious and a good runner and if they decided that he was eligible, the girl's parents called on his parents with the proposal: "We have an industrious daughter. We offer her to your son."

The boy's parents, if they objected to the girl, would take care not to be at home for to refuse would be an insult. But if the boy were already affianced, it was proper to say: "He has already been given a girl." Otherwise they replied: "We think as you do." A

[p. 179]

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

551 the important names are still the kinship terms, and the nicknames which are a source of amusement and gossip for everyone.

MARRIAGE

581 Marriage is the normal adult state among the Papago. In the old days there were few bachelors and almost no unmarried women. Today there are more single adults, but they are a very small proportion of the tribe, and spinsters
582 are looked upon as something of a curiosity. Girls may marry at fourteen and boys at sixteen, but the usual ages seem to be between sixteen and eighteen for girls and between eighteen and twenty for boys.

584 According to the old custom—practiced in a few cases as recently as ten years ago—marriages were arranged by the families of the bride and groom, usually without consulting the young people concerned. Nowadays young Papago almost without exception select their own mates and consult their parents later. Usually, however, the parent's wishes are followed, although a few young people have braved family disapproval to marry whom they pleased.

582 Apparently the chief prerequisite for marriage is that the young couple be unrelated, a restriction strengthened by the ban laid by the Roman Catholic church on marriage within the third degree of relationship. In recent years there have been several cases of marriage between first cousins without more stringent penalties than adverse gossip, but one such couple in the conservative
[684] Hickiwan District were ostracized by both their families, who said that they were "living like dogs."

Because of this general restriction against marriage between close relatives, young people customarily used to marry outside their own communities where nearly everyone was related. In the larger villages, where new blood has come in and therefore relationships are not so close, many young people who are neighbors marry.

Whatever their birthplace, some Papago say that the bride and groom used to belong to the same dialect group. This was less a result of sanction than of circumstance; before there were many roads on the Reservation and until many people went to work in the mines or cotton fields, Papago seldom met
[186] those of any other dialect group. Even now, though there are many intermixtures of dialect, there is still a strong in-group feeling, and outsiders are teased or ridiculed not only for the difference in their speech but also because
582 of their personal appearance and mannerisms. A bride from a different dialect
591 group coming to her husband's home must anticipate a good deal of such

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

582
591

teasing, but it is usually good-natured, and in time she may adopt the new way of speech.

585

There is no elaborate wedding ceremony among the Papago. The old practice of the groom spending four nights with his bride in her home before taking her to their permanent dwelling has fallen out of use. Nowadays, under increasing white pressure, some couples in the eastern districts are married in a Roman Catholic or Presbyterian church, but in the western part of the Reservation such ceremonies are rare. Most marriages in the West and some in the East involve no ceremony and require only public recognition of an understanding between the individuals concerned and their families. The recently approved tribal code of laws (see chap. vii) requires a marriage license, a ceremony performed by a religious or other duly constituted official, and a certificate of marriage.

836
848

There are many sex relations outside marriage, which may evoke gossip or criticism but do not cause the social ostracism of either party. Children of casual relationships are to be seen in many homes. If the mother is unmarried, she cares for such children in her own household; when she marries, she may take them with her to the new home or leave them behind to be cared for by her parents. No stigma is attached to these children, and criticism of their parents comes from the clergy and the more ardent church members.

591

Residence of newly married couples is usually patrilocal. They may live in the same house with the groom's parents—in which case they often have a room of their own—or they may build a new home close by. If the groom's family is large and no more workers are needed to make a living for the group, the couple may break away, fence in a new field, and establish their own household. Although the new dwelling is usually close to the houses of the groom's father and brothers and everyone works together when necessary, the son's household is distinct from his father's and is more nearly like that of the average white family. Nowadays the trend is toward greater independence of young families. They frequently go for long or short periods to places where there is employment, but the husband's father's house is always home.

This is the prevailing pattern, but in the characteristically flexible Papago society the new couple may live with the wife's parents for some practical reason. Possibly there are more adults in the groom's household than in the bride's, and the help of the new couple is more valuable in her home. Perhaps the girl has no brothers to help with the crops or the cattle, or her brothers have left the Reservation. Whatever the reason for a man's joining his wife's family he assumes the responsibilities and status of a son, and the functioning of the household is not upset.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

be much like themselves except for the fact that, through years of schooling and other contacts with white men, the Pima have become less Indian. But the Papago do not regard the change taking place in the Pima with envy or admiration; rather they think of it as an unfortunate weakness, a mistake on the part of their northern kinsmen. Furthermore, they call the Pima lazy. Still, the Papago do not look upon marriages between their own young people and Pima with great disfavor, and many Papago today acknowledge Pima blood and visit relatives on the Pima reservations. 609

Yaqui Indians frequently work with Papago in the cotton fields and mines. These people the Papago also designate as fellow-Indians, but farther removed from themselves than the Pima, and, though there are occasional Yaqui-Papago marriages, they are not generally approved. However, the Yaqui are admired for their dancing, and the Desert People never tire of watching the Yaqui *pascola* dancers perform.

The Papago know other Indians too. The Apache (called in Papago "The Enemy") are thought of as mean and cruel, albeit brave and successful fighters. Tribes who live farther away are becoming known to the younger Papago in off-Reservation boarding schools, and a number of marriages between Papago and other tribes—such as Hopi, Navaho, Mohave—have resulted from school romances. In such marriages a Papago boy usually brings his bride to his own village, but a girl goes with her husband to his tribe. But the Desert People do not think of intertribal marriages as the ideal, and no more than ten years ago one Papago pair forbade their daughter to marry outside the tribe because "it is not allowed." Now, however, newcomers take their place in the family without criticism. [582]

MEXICANS

Mexicans[1] are known to the Papago as "Smarties" (*chuchkam*), and relations between the two groups vary. At present Mexicans living in the United States and the American Papago usually meet on friendly terms. Several factors tend to draw them together: in the towns both groups do the same kind of low-paid work; they are equally discriminated against by the white Americans, who frequently cannot tell them apart; and they often have a common religion in Catholicism. A Papago will trade at a Mexican store in preference to an American. When he is working in a town, he will live either with his tribesmen in "Papago Town" or with Mexicans (and perhaps lower-class white Americans). Papago in Tucson live in the "Barrio Libre" along with Mexicans and Yaqui.

1. For use of the term "Mexican" in this study see the Introduction, p. xiii.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

881 thought to have strong powers of good and evil. She was segregated in the menstrual hut, and her diet was restricted. An older woman relative instructed her in her duties as a woman and bade her work hard during her segregation so that she would be industrious all her life. Before the family rose each morning she fetched wood and water for them, but she could not enter the house or see or speak to her male relatives, lest she bring evil to them. During the day she worked diligently at basketry and talked with the women who came to visit her. She was ritually bathed in cold water on the fourth and eighth day, when her segregation was ended, and the celebration of her maturity began.

Every night for a month the girl was feasted by her family and other relatives. Special song cycles were sung, and the girl and her friends spent all night in a ritual dance. At the end of the month she went to a medicine man to be purified with sacred eagle feathers and a drink of magic white clay mixed with water. Sometimes she was given a new name which the medicine man had dreamed.

A girl's readiness for marriage is no longer celebrated with dance and feasting, but the purification ceremony is still very prevalent. This rite is necessary because the girl is in a condition dangerous not only to herself but to all her relatives; unless she is made clean, she may bring sickness and death to any of them. The story is told of a girl at boarding school who was not purified because there was no one to perform the rite; this was considered the cause of her uncle's death. Another child refused the ceremony; later her little brother was bitten by a rattlesnake, and to this day she is called "the girl who killed her brother." There are many such tales which emphasize the still prevailing belief in this rite. Decision to undergo the ritual is not a matter of personal taste. The girl is never forced to drink the white clay, but powerful pressure reminds her of her responsibility to the family.

582 583 In the old days the puberty rite was followed almost immediately by marriage. Now, as a rule, girls do not marry before they are at least sixteen, but they spend much time and thought in preparation for marriage. The adolescent girl learns to cook, launder, keep house, and care for children. She helps in the field with the bean harvest, husks, shells, and parches corn, and prepares the squash for drying. In summer she gathers saguaro fruit and learns to make jam and syrup. By the time she is eighteen she is quite capable of taking complete charge, should it be necessary. During adolescence she probably also learns how to weave baskets. This craft is useful in itself and often brings income which is regarded as the girl's own.

883 It is usually a girl's mother or grandmother who specifies her tasks and admonishes her. It is also these two who arrange to get her the new dresses or

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

883 464 [465] always get odd jobs, such as mowing lawns, in the cities. Almost every youth in the western districts works at the Ajo mine at sometime between the ages of eighteen and thirty. Here at unskilled labor he can earn $3.00 a day; in wartime wages ran as high as $7.00.

893 466 563 Papago youth in mines, in cotton fields, or on ranches work side by side with other Indians or Mexicans and have little direct contact with whites. White employers treat the Indians with friendliness and often make concessions to retain good workers, but away from work the Indians live together or with Mexicans and Chinese in the poorer quarters of the city, so that it is the lower strata of economic life in Arizona with which they become familiar. They do not, however, experience some of the discriminations endured by minority groups in many parts of the country: most cafes serve Indians, and they are not segregated at the movies and other public places.

883 593 273 [578] Young people working off the Reservation are relatively free from family influence, and, though many send part of their wages home, they still have much more money to spend than they ever had before. Now and then girls on their own in the city drift into trouble and are sent home, but they seldom become recognized prostitutes. Boys are likely to spend a good deal of their new-found wealth on liquor; their families at home expect the boys to do some drinking, still they worry lest the lads become involved in brawls that will lead to the white man's jail.

883 671 The youth himself is terrified of the law. Instead of being reassured by the supposedly impersonal and impartial character of white men's justice, he fears what seems to him its rigid inflexibility. If he does wrong at home, his family may lecture him or even call in the village elders to talk to him about the error of his ways, but the youth knows that he will be judged on his own merits and not on what is written down in a white man's book. Most important, he will not be shut up far from his family and his desert.

883 582 Sometimes young people marry when they leave the Reservation to take jobs. By and large, however, they go for only short periods or at most a few years. Family ties may become tenuous, but they are seldom broken. The wage-earner usually sends money home and expects to return to the village some day.

GETTING READY FOR MARRIAGE

562 [786] Papago boys and girls do not associate in unchaperoned groups, for the girls are kept under constant surveillance. In the old days a girl who went unaccompanied away from the house cluster was considered fair game for any man or boy. Even today in her home village a girl never goes anywhere alone, unless

614 he belonged, but was not forbidden to marry within it. In the same way the whole country was divided into ceremonial halves or moieties known as Buzzard and Coyote. This 46 custom is similar to that of the Mission Indians, distant language relatives of the Papagos. But whereas the moieties of the Mission Indians forbade marriage of one moiety member with another and have given to the moiety many ceremonial duties, the Papagos know Buzzard and Coyote as names only and there are no rules or ceremonies connected with them.

841 Many of the old Papago ceremonies dealing with birth 847 and death are no longer practiced but there are enough 846 old people living so that we can at least have an account of them. A mother, about to give birth to a child, went to a separate hut kept for "dangerous women." Not only women in childbirth but women in their periods came under this heading, for the strange power of reproduction seemed to the Papagos fraught with magic and death. The new mother remained in this segregation hut for a month before she and her baby might emerge. Then the medicine man gave them both a mixture of clay to drink while he pronounced a purification formula.

881 Young children were continually urged to be industrious for this was the supreme Papago virtue. Boys were [577 461] expected to have a dream which would tell them what career to choose and give them power to follow it. Girls usually did not dream but when they reached maturity a special ceremony was held for them. The girls were kept apart from others for four days, then bathed and brought out to dance with the whole village. Sometimes this dance continued every night for a month, and at the end of that time the strange new power which had visited the girl was thought to be tamed. Her parents soon visited the par- 582 ents of an industrious youth and arranged that the two should be mated. There was no marriage ceremony other than the coming of the boy to the girl's house and taking her home with him after four days. They lived with the

17:Castetter & Underhill N.E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
NU28 Papago NU28

boy's parents until one or two children had been born, when they erected a hut nearby.

Death was little solemnized by the Papagos. Fearing that the spirit of the dead would drag with him his loved ones, they bestowed the corpse as quickly as possible in a crevice in the rocks leaving with it food, drink, and possessions, and adjuring it not to come back to frighten the living. Often they burned the house to discourage such visitations, and many of them, like the California Indians, never mentioned the name of the dead.

Papago life appears to be barren of material for ceremony but these wandering people, nevertheless, developed an elaborate system of observances. Their art impulse, deprived of opportunity for costumes and paraphernalia, expressed itself in song and poetry. Their ceremonies were based upon a long myth, describing the origin of all things. In this myth the People were brought up from underground by their leader, Elder Brother. They marched conquering through the country where Casa Grande now stands, driving out the old inhabitants, the Hohokam, or All-Gone-People. In the course of their adventures, there arose all the needs which later beset Papago life: the need for rain, for corn, for venison, for the taking of scalps, and the curing of disease. As each need arose, Elder Brother met it by leading the People in action and by singing a song. These songs, which punctuate the narrative at all its dramatic points, are often charmingly lyrical and descriptive. Moreover, they constituted Papago magic for all time to come. Ceremonies consisted in the singing of these songs, with appropriate dances and oratory. The mere singing was thought to produce the desired result, whatever it might be.

The Papago year was filled with such ceremonies.[2] In July, just before the rainy season, the fruit of the giant cactus *(Carnegia gigantea)* was fermented and drunk, with singing, dancing, and oratory.

2. This section on songs and ceremonies has been abstracted from *Papago Songs and Ceremonies* by Ruth Underhill (in preparation).

Population Conclusions. Two very clear trends are indicated in our analysis of the total Papago population: (1) Papagos have been moving off the reservation in ever increasing numbers during the lifetime of the present population and (2) contact with the outside world has accelerated the intermarriage of Papagos with non-Papagos. Data, not here reported, shows that the majority of these marriages are between Papagos and members of other Indian tribes.

In addition to the more or less permanent residence shift indicated above, data to be presented in Chapter IV will show a high rate of seasonal and temporary movement off the reservation.

In his preliminary report on the Papago Population, prepared in 1961, Dr. Robert A. Hackenberg prepared an analysis respecting the transitional position of the Papago midway between reliance upon the institutions of native society and the acceptance of the alternatives provided by Federal programs and the opportunities in the surrounding non-Indian off-reservation areas. The following analysis is from his report and is in no material respect altered by the more precise information gathered during the past two years.

Age Distribution. The significance of the age distribution developed from the 1959 figures may be seen through the comparisons made in the following table.

one parent who is not a Papago fullblood. Thirty years ago the proportion was one out of thirty or less. 144 162

Mixture at the present time is by no means sufficient to imply that biological assimilation of the Papagos is taking place, or is likely to occur. Papago outgroup marriage has become a significant factor in the 35-55 year age group, however. This inference is warranted by the proportion of mixedblood children appearing in the birth through 25 year age classes. The visible effect of this mixture will be lessened by the preference pattern of Papagos for other Indians rather than non-Indians. Still, the accelerating rate of out-group marriage indicates the probability of profound behavioral changes within the next several generations of Papago family life. 144 162 582

Origin Composition. The first substantial proportion of the Papago population to originate off the reservation (25%) appears in the 15-19 year age class. This proportion increases to 44% in the 0-4 class. These figures indicate that the majority of the Papago births are still occurring within reservation families, but the balance is shifting toward off-reservation origin. Projection of the present trend indicates a majority of Papagos will originate outside Papago reservation areas within the next twenty-five years. This projection is based on the observation that there has been an average 5% increase in the proportion of each successive age group born off the reservation in the past 25 years. 162 161 178